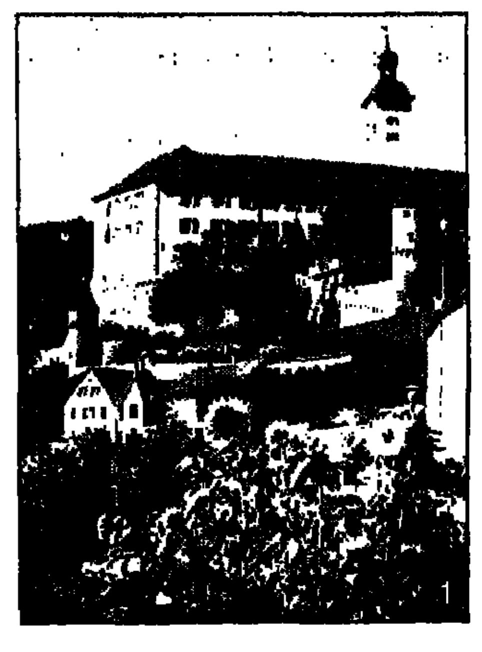
Routes to tour in Germany

Mannheim
Heidelberg
Eberbach
Gundelsheim
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Nürnberg

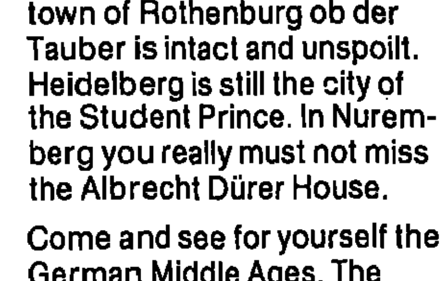
The Castle Route

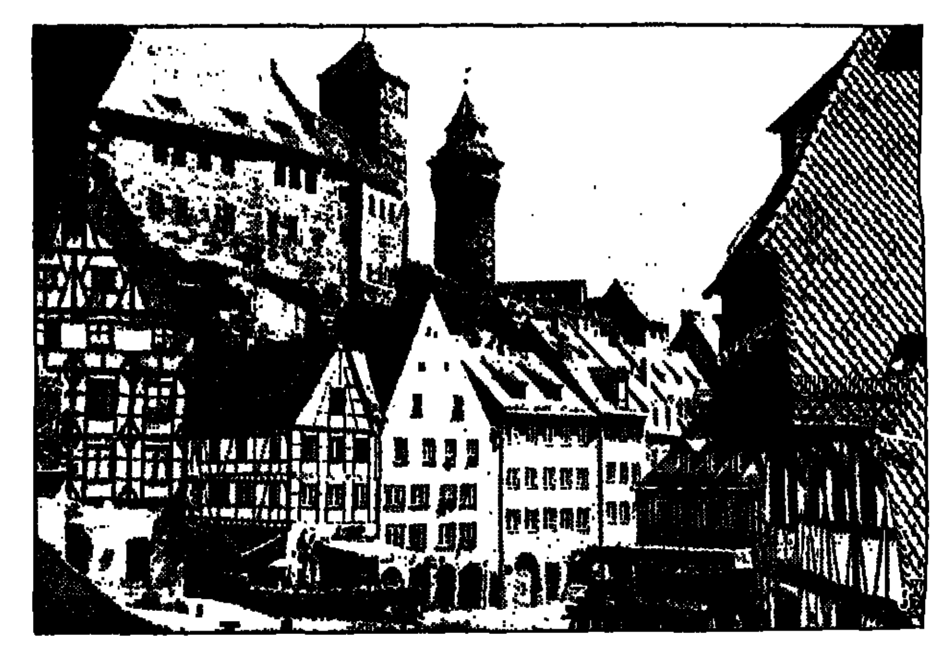


German roads will get you there. But why miss the sights by heading straight down the autobahn at 80? Holiday routes have been arranged not only to ensure unforgettable memories but also to make up an idea for a holiday in itself. How about a tour of German castles?

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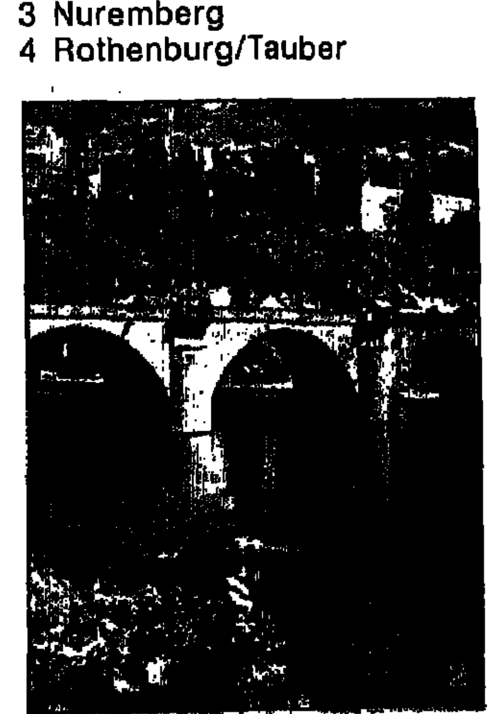
Come and see for yourself the German Middle Ages. The Castle Route will be your guide.

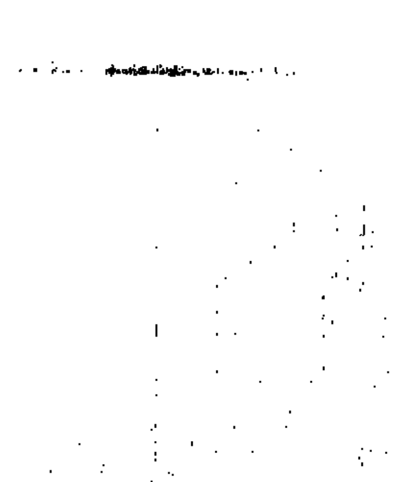






1 Gundelsheim/Neckar
2 Heidelberg
3 Nuremberg
4 Rothenburg/Tauber







The German Tribune

Hamburg, 23 October 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1344 - By air

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Historic reasons behind a vague arms-talks formula

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Europe has been at peace for over 43 years, yet World War II battlefields still cast their shadows and their spectres stalk conventional troop-cut talks on the continent.

Future chief delegates on both sides, especially German and Soviet officials, are plagued by nightmares in which their World War II defeats are relived.

Goering's Luftwaffe is remembered grinding Soviet soldiers into the ground and enabling Hitler's army to advance to Moscow, says Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, Soviet general staff chief.

That is why he would prefer first to discuss a reduction in air forces — Nato's, of course, not his own.

German generals can't forget that when the tide turned the Wehrmacht was overrun by Soviet tanks and blitzed by Soviet artillery. So they want the emphasis on cutting Soviet superiority in tanks and artillery.

These different wishes have been reconciled in a vague formula agreed for the issues for the proposed Vienna conference on conventional arms control.

But at first both sides will try to ride their respective arms policy hobby-horses. *Hopes that the delegations* will not grow old and grey in the Austrian capital, as they have done at the MBFR troop cut talks, are based solely on Mr Gorbachov's impatience.

He needs swift results if he is to curb arms spending and redirect resources into non-military industry and avoid failure for perestroika.

It was he who laid the groundwork for the proposed talks standing a better chance of making headway than previous rounds of negotiations.

The INF Treaty scrapping medium-range missiles in Europe and the Start talks on halving US and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons have substantially improved the atmosphere of relations between Washington and Moscow.

Mr Gorbachov wants to ensuring stability in foreign affairs in order to concentrate on the economic and domestic problems of a gigantic Soviet empire that seems to be growing steadily more unstable.

Since he came to power, arms control has played a larger role than arms build-up in Soviet security policy, and a start has at least been made to change Soviet military doctrine.

Offensive strategy is gradually giving way to a defensive approach based on the principle of "sufficient forces."

In verification, or spot checks to ensure that disarmament treaties are observed, the Russians have at long last overcome the old fears of espionage.

For the first time they not only acknowledge *the existence of imbalance* and asymmetry in the arms arsenals of the two bloes; they are even prepared to reduce their superiority in certain categories.

Mr Gorbachov first had to overcome his own generals' opposition. Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, who took part in the defence of Leningrad as a young man and describes himself as one of the "last Mohicans" of the Second World War, has for 50 years had instilled into him the advantages of an offensive strategy.

What is more, he gained power and influence at a time when armaments held pride of place in the list of Soviet economic and political priorities.

So he was not an initial supporter of perestroika. He has now accepted the idea of restructuring, but the Red Army clearly still has difficulty in coming to terms with the idea.

Soviet officers may now be trained in defensive strategy, but there are few signs of the new doctrine being implemented in terms of military hardware.

That is one reason why Nato is behaving in as conservative a manner with *regard to conventional disarmament* as the conservative Soviet chief of general staff, who insists on striking a balance at all stages of the proceedings.

Where conventional forces are concerned that is extremely difficult because different geographical situations and weapon systems, equipment and strategies that cannot be compared are involved.

So one may well wonder whether the conventional approach to negotiations, with Nato and the Warsaw Pact weighing tanks against bombers and clashing over whether the catering corps counts toward active forces manpower, stands any chance of success.

Fears of old have been resurrected. Yet Nato's superiority in the air is far less substantial than Field-Marshal Akhromeyev fears, and the same is true of Soviet superiority in tanks and field artillery.

Much of this equipment is outdated, and modernisation has amounted to a mere two per cent per year for the past decade.

While this fruitless dispute over ap-*ples and pears continues a decision* needs to be reached on modernising short-range systems within Nato. If the Lance is replaced by a missile with a range of nearly 500km a fresh nuclear arms race in Europe will be launched, making it more difficult to try and agree to a policy of "reciprocal security" on the basis of a strategy of non-aggression capability for both sides.

Might it not be possible to agree to unconventional terms such as dispensing with modernisation "in return for a drastic, visible and convincing reduction in invasion capability" by the other side?

This idea has been mooted by Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, who is at least not ruling it out.

President Mitterrand of France also seems prepared to consider an unconventional approach. He is said to be prepared to postpone for two years the *introduction of the new Hades short-*range missile if the Russians agree to aim at swift results in the Vienna talks.

This offer, incidentally, would only make sense if there were to be an embargo on short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Hades would then no longer be of military value.

From French territory its range is so limited that it would hardly be suitable for sounding a final warning, and it is unlikely ever to be based in Germany.

The French, who will be taking part *in conventional disarmament talks for*

Continued on page 2

THE PRESIDENT of Turkey, Kenan Evren (left) with Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker at the beginning of a five-day state visit to Germany. Mr Evren, who has been president since 1982, will be promoting Turkey's case for joining the European Community.

Euro ministers welcome Soviet reforms

European Community Foreign Ministers are generally positive about the course of Soviet reforms.

They also think progress is being made at the Helsinki review talks in Vienna.

The ministers, who were meeting at the Greek centre of Ioannina, now plan to draw up, as part of their European Political Cooperation (EPC), a paper outlining the Twelve's joint approach to the CSCE deliberations.

At the same time the European Com-*mission is to draft proposals on economic* and trade policy aspects of East-West dialogue for discussion at the next Community summit next month.

Italian diplomats said the impression they had gained in Moscow, where Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti had met both Mr Gorbachov and Mr Shevardnaze, was that Mr Gorbachov was mainly interested in closer ties with the European Community for economic reasons.

Views differed on events in the Soviet Union and other East Bloc nations.

German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the European Community must take Mr Gorbachov's reform bids seriously and use them to improve East-West relations.

A Soviet Union that was more open both internally and externally would be a better and more predictable partner.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is said to have been more sceptical.

Britain opposes the proposal, backed in principle by Bonn and Paris, to hold a human rights conference in Moscow, possibly in 1991.

Gerd Höhler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 October 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The Serbs and Yugoslavia's centrifugal tendencies



Eight years after the death of Tito, who was able to maintain a balance and in the Communist party and who heavy-handedly suppressed centrifugal tendencies, Yugoslavia is faced by the risk of disintegration.

Conflicts are flaring up which are similar to those which led to the fall of the Yugoslavian monarchy following Hitler's invasion in 1941. Fortunately, there are today no signs of outside threats.

In the West no political power is interested in the breaking up of Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union, which was considered a possible invader just a few years ago, is — at least for the time being — so preoccupied with its own problems since Mikhail Gorbachov arrived on the scene that there is no time to become too involved in what is happening in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavian crisis, therefore, which is gradually coming to a head, is home-made. It is connected with the country's political system.

Apart from the total collapse of the country's economic and fiscal policies the crisis was sparked off by the nationalities conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians.

As a result of a decision by the Great Powers on the eve of the First World War, the emerging state of Albania was not given sovereignty over the entire Albanian settlement area.

Kosovo, with its Albanian majority, came under the control of Serbia and later on Yugoslavia.

The desire for independence of the Albanian majority in this region clashes with the "historical" claims of the Serbs and thus of the Yugoslavians.

The Kosovo-Albanians, the only European ethnic group which still has an extremely high birthrate, insist on their right of self-determination.

They demand that Kosovo, an autonomous region, should become a republic within Yugoslavia and, later perhaps, a republic outside Yugoslavia. At the moment Kosovo is an autonomous region.

The Serbs feel that this is an affront against the integrity of the Christian-Orthodox culture of the Serbs.

There is even a theory circulating in Serbia that "the Croat and former Austrian sergeant and agent of the Communist Internationale by the name of Tito deliberately tried to keep contain and humiliate the Serbs, who had made great sacrifices during the two world wars, when creating the Communist Yugoslavia."

The more despairing and hopeless the economic and social situation of broad sections of the population in Serbia, the greater its readiness to replace unattainable economic objectives by "national" goals.

This explains why the demands by Serbia's new Communist party leader, Slobodan Milosevic, for a "re-establishment of Serbian sovereignty" over the separated autonomous provinces enjoy such a mass popularity.

Old ideas are revived, for example, that the Serbian people have a mission to maintain Yugoslavia's unity, even if the other South Slavonic (Yugoslav) nations and especially the non-Slavonic groups of the population such as the Albanians or Hungarians take a different view.

By unleashing or at least approvingly tolerating a mass movement Milosevic has not only turned himself into a tribune of the people. Whether he realises it or not he is destroying the Yugoslavian political system.

Demands by Serbian demonstrators to put the leading Communist party officials on trial before a "people's court" already show which way the wind is blowing.

Lenin had good reason to warn his Communist comrades against the movement's "spontaneity."

Once the floodgates are opened they are difficult to close, unless, of course, with the help of Stalinist methods.

The other republics in Yugoslavia are appalled by the Serbian mass movement.

There is concern in Croatia and Slovenia that the movement will edge its way westwards — a minority of 600,000 Serbs lives in Croatia — after already spreading to Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro.

The ancient conflicts between the Catholic west (Slovenia and Croatia), the Orthodox east (Serbia) and the Islamic regions (Kosovo-Albania and Bosnia and Herzogevina) are again coming tothe surface.

A rational political course should seek to raise the standard of living and improve the achievement orientation by means of the market economy and private property.

But that is not what is happening. Instead, Yugoslavia is drifting dangerously towards the risk of military dictatorship and civil war.

Carl Gustaf Ströhm

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 October 1988)

The conflicts between the various ethnic groups in the multiracial state of Yugoslavia have reached a critical stage.

A national Serbian mass movement carried is not only influencing large sections of the population in the most populous Yugoslavian republic, Serbia, but is spreading to other regions.

There have been reports of angry demonstrators in Montenegro, where demands were made for the resignation of the local Communist party leaders. Some of the demonstrators were even armed.

President Raif Dizdarevic, a Bosnian with a Moslem background and thus perhaps particularly sensitive to Serbian action, threatened to declare a state of emergency.

The commander of the Ljubljana military district, General Visnic, was prompted to come out and say that the army was powerful enough to prevent any attempts to divide the country.

The Slovenes interpreted the words of the general, who belongs to the 75 per cent Serbian majority in the officer corps, as a threat to establish, if need be, a military dictatorship.

End of an era, but not of Pinochet

General Augusto Pinochet could not have been entirely surprised at his defeat in the plebiscite this month. He saw the writing on the wall many years ago and acted.

With an eye on the trend towards democracy in almost all South American countries — Paraguay is the only other country with a dictator — he pieced together a constitution at the beginning of the 1980s which guarantees the military a dominant role in society.

In 1980, Pinochet let the people give approve his constitution and his election as president with a two-thirds majority. But there are still rumours that this vote was not properly organised.

The 1980 plebiscite was far more important for Chile's rulers than the vote this month.

In 1980 the course was mapped out for the coming decades. This time the Chilean people have made it impossible for the dictator to remain president for a further eight years with any democratic legitimation.

The military have promised to respect the will of the people.

The events of recent years are reason enough for doubts about this in Santiago and elsewhere in the world.

If the military stick to their word Pinochet will have to leave the La Moneda Palace to make way for a successor elected by the people in 1990.

This does not mean that he will lose power. As commander-in-chief of the army, senator for life, and member of the national security council — all guaranteed by *his* constitution — he will still keep his finger on the pulse of political life in Chile.

Although the gradual liberalisation of recent weeks, the defeat of the dictator at the polls, and international political pressure give rise to optimism they by no means signify the final victory of democracy. The extent of the army's craving for power is still a factor of great uncertainty.

Another highly significant question is whether the opposition groups have more in common than just their rejection of the Pinochet regime.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 7 October 1988)

Continued from page 1

the first time, want to stage a comeback in Ostpolitik. They no longer want to leave it to Germany and America.

Chancellor Kohl, who has just met with President Mitterrand, is likely to be attracted by the idea of security policy rapprochement with Paris.

He visits Gorbachov before Mitterrand and might upgrade his own position and manoeuvre the Kremlin leader into a position where the next move is his.

Mr Gorbachov would then have to show how serious he is about the "common European house" and about a "new chapter" in relations between Bonn and Moscow.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 October 1988)

Strougal out: no blank Czech for change

According to an old saying, in the world of the blind the one-eyed man is king.

The ousted Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal was certainly no adventurous reformer.

After all, he performed his government duties in Prague for 18 years without changing the ossified system.

Nevertheless, he was apparently too reform-minded for the Czechoslovakian Communist party leadership.

Because of his close contacts with industry, he knew better than party officials that Czechoslovakia is economically falling behind.

A tough pay policy has been helping the country avoid the chaos of neighbouring Poland.

The officially admitted rate of Czech inflation is low. Czechoslovakia can only maintain its technological superiority over other Comecon countries as long as reforms in these countries are ineffective.

It looks as if Strougal developed into the internal spokesman of the reformers and was forced to pay the price.

The first slap in the face came following President Husak's resignation as Communist party secretary. Instead of offering Strougal the job the post went to the disciplinarian in the party, Milos Jakes. There were already rumours of Strougal's resignation.

The victors in the internal party struggle also know that industry is stagnating and that the technological gap with the West is widening.

The difference between the reformers in Prague and this group, however, is that the latter do not believe in the compatability of the market economy and the existing system of socialism.

Their observation of the development of perestroika in the Soviet Union and of reforms in Hungary and Poland increase their scepticism.

They feel that Gorbachov is an adventurer who is jeopardising the future of the socialist system.

Czech party leader think that, because of the country's unique position, caution is the best policy.

But for most Czechs, the Jakes government was imposed by a foreign power and it only managed to come to power with the help of direct military intervention.

Far-reaching economic reforms which disrupt the equilibrium of the market, therefore, could in themselves pose a threat to the Communist party.

A perestroika with glasnost, which criticises all the system's failings and the misdeeds of the party leadership would inevitably topple the existing government.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the party leaders in Prague are trying to reinforce the role of the party and only willing to tolerate reforms providing they do not disturb the country's apathetic peace or upset the political system.

Julius Struminski

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 13 October 1988)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Free Democrats choose Lambsdorff as chairman

Count Otto Lambsdorff, 61, a former Bonn Economics Minister, has been elected chairman of the Free Democrats, the minority party in the federal coalition. He defeated one of the younger generation of Free Democrats, Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, 46, who holds a minor ministerial job in the Foreign Ministry, in the contest to replace Martin Bangemann, who has gone to Brussels. Count Lambsdorff was involved in the Flick affair in which the company was given tax concessions in return for donations to party funds. He was acquitted on corruption charges but convicted of evading tax. There was never any suggestion that any money was for his own use. Lambsdorff is on the right of the FDP. Here, Hans Peter Schütz, writing in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, looks at what the change means for the FDP and the government in Bonn; and the Berlin daily, *Der Tagesspiegel*, looks at Lambsdorff and the background to his success.

One brief exchange of words at the FDP conference in Wiesbaden showed how the wind of change is likely to blow following Count Otto Lambsdorff's election as party chairman.

Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen was wedged in between Count Lambsdorff and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the executive table.

As she sat back during to the applause after her inaugural speech as business manager, Genscher urged her to stand up.

This prompted a quick reaction from Lambsdorff: "I decide who stands up now, Hans-Dietrich!" (Genscher is a former chairman).

Quite a few changes are expected. A year ago, the Count had already laid down the strategic cornerstones of his campaign by saying that he had no ambitions to become a Cabinet minister again (he is a former Economics Minister in Bonn); that he had no interest in becoming chairman of the FDP's parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and that Helmut Haussmann should succeed Martin Bangemann as Bonn Economics Minister.

Lambsdorff predicted that the time would soon come when "leadership will be in demand". He meant leadership by the party chairman.

The Bangemann era lasted one year too long. What began as a welcome and more relaxed style of leadership with a degree of cooperation in the party presidium unknown under his predecessor, Genscher, ended up as a wishy-washy willingness to fall in with conservative demands. This led to dissonant high-handedness by several prominent regional FDP politicians.

Count Lambsdorff wants much more coordination between the FDP ministers in the Bonn government.

He has already come to an arrangement with Genscher. Lambsdorff wants to keep his nose out of foreign policy and wants Genscher to keep his out of running the party.

Genscher's practice of making a statement marking the anniversary of the date on which the party switched partners from a government alliance of the centre-left under Helmut Schmidt to one of centre-right under Helmut Kohl back in 1982 is unlikely to continue.

But Lambsdorff will need more than just his characteristic single-mindedness to guide the party. Does he have a talent for integrating the executive?

His surprisingly narrow victory over Frau Adam-Schwaetzer (211 to 187) is an obvious mandate for close cooperation between the various factions.

Lambsdorff will have to give Frau Adam-Schwaetzer, who was elected deputy party chairman, scope to develop her political ideas.

There are other reasons which suggest that the fears expressed of a right-wing swing by the FDP in the event of Lambsdorff's victory are unwarranted.

The new business manager, Frau Schmalz-Jacobsen, is in a strong position. She probably deserves the credit for the 12 decisive pro-Lambsdorff votes, since the Hesse FDP group tipped the scales against Frau Adam-Schwaetzer (who had a majority up until that time) by nominating the political yuppie, Hans-Joachim Otto, as its candidate for business manager.

A great deal is expected of her. She emphasised that she has no intention of being misused by the Count to provide the party with a liberal social image.

She had a lot of problems as Berlin's Senator for Youth and Family Affairs, where she was unable to live up to expectations.

Frau Schmalz-Jacobsen will soon have to show she can stand her ground and develop her own political profile.

In her opinion, a little bit of children's allowance is not enough in the field of women's and family policy. Why doesn't the FDP take up the cause of all-day schooling? Or the extension of periods granted for bringing up a child? She regards these as political musts.

Although she had trouble coming to terms with the party's move into alliance with the conservatives, she cannot be automatically classed as a member of the social-liberal wing.

However, as Gerhart Baum was re-elected deputy party chairman and Hildegard Hamm-Brücher has been promoted to the party presidium there are plenty of politicians in the highest party body who have been demanding more radically democratic stances in more fields than just economic policy.

Even without a compulsory ratio of women in executive bodies (as in the case of the SPD) the FDP now has three women in its presidium (Adam-Schwaetzer, Schmalz-Jacobsen and Hildegard Hamm-Brücher).

Together with Baum and the young regional party chairmen Walter Hirche (Lower Saxony) and Wolfgang Gerhardt (Hesse) this, at least on paper, is a combination which stands a good chance of attracting new sections of the electorate by dealing with topics the party has been neglecting.

At the conference, Lambsdorff listed a catalogue of domestic and legal issues to be tackled soon: amendment of the Data Protection Act, security laws, genetic engineering, reproductive medicine, embryo protection laws, nature conservation and reform of the health system.

He said the party will try to be receptive to social changes.

Frau Adam-Schwaetzer spoke of the FDP's new face.

Frau lia Schmalz-Jacobsen remarked that she would not be able to feel politically at home in a party which shows no interest in social problems.

This will all have to be translated into practice.

This should also apply to Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, who — like other left-wing liberals — often tends to unleash partisan-style attacks on the FDP's legal and domestic policy line and then fall back into whining lamentations of the party's hopeless situation.

The FDP's Bundestag parliamentary party has a right-wing liberal majority.

Frau Hamm-Brücher's initial reaction to Count Lambsdorff's election suggests that she is not convinced that the best means of achieving a more liberal FDP policy lies in cooperation in the presidium rather than in confrontation. Despite the election of Lambsdorff, which she found a "bitter pill to swallow", she feels that the presidium is balanced enough to enable the "new political start which we hoped for under Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer." Giving vent to personal disappointment about the outcome of the election in this way is not what the FDP needs. Without the suspense of the duel for party chairmanship the Wiesbaden party conference would not even have been worth a footnote in the annals of party history. The time has come for an end to oversensitivities.

There is plenty of material for a start to leftist-liberal party-political activity.

Due to its lack of sufficient discussion time the party conference was unable to discussion the introduction of the right of foreigners to vote at local elections or the motion condemning the Memmingen abortion trial.

Will these items now suffer the fate of many of the papers passed on for discussion at party conferences and disappear never to be seen again?

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) and Bonn Justice Minister Hans Engelhard (FDP) have allegedly reached agreement on the new Data Protection bill so that it is ready to be adopted by the Cabinet.

The same apparently applies to the legal data protection provisions concerning the Military Counter-Intelligence Service (MAD) and the Federal Intelligence Service (BND).

Yet again there is reason to believe that Zimmermann got the better of Engelhard in these negotiations.

Perhaps Count Lambsdorff will be able to remind Justice Minister Engelhard that he was appointed minister on an FDP ticket

Count Lambsdorff does not want to be a disruptive factor in the coalition. A bit more disruption in his own party, however, would do the party good.

Hans Peter Schütz

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 16 October 1988)



They're counting on this pair: Lambsdorff (left) and his deputy, Adam-Schwaetzer. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Party decision reflects vote for experience

By electing Count Otto Lambsdorff as chairman, the FDP conference has opted for the candidate with greater political experience, greater expertise, greater authority and a clearer profile.

It then cushioned Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer's disappointment at being narrowly defeated by electing her with a large majority as one of three deputy chairmen.

This not only made amends for her personal setback but also served to keep the peace within the party.

So, the advent of a new generation at the head of the FDP did not take place.

Although many will be disppointed at this, it need not harm the party.

Lambsdorff listed many arguments in his favour, but expressly refrained from hinting in any way that the party owed him "compensation" for his conviction last year for aiding and abetting tax evasion.

Many delegates obviously wanted to show their respect for a man who accepted a personal career setback in the interests of the party and then vigorously worked his way back up the party ladder.

Lambsdorff has tried to counteract the impression that the FDP would become no more than a party of the industry lobby under his leadership.

He knows only too well that this would jeopardise the party's chances of getting the five per cent of the poll needed to get into parliament.

The new FDP leadership represents a broad spectrum of views. It remains to be seen whether this will be discernible in the arena of day-to-day politics.

If the party were to be one-sidedly geared to Lambsdorff's strong personality, its electoral potential would primarily lie among the CDU and CSU voters. This would not be welcomed in the coalition.

Its liberal stance on law and order makes it a rival to the SPD.

Lambsdorff's clear support for a continuation of the Bonn coalition was no mere compulsory exercise. A seesawing policy is not his style.

He wanted to underline that, although not a member of the government himself, he feels bound to loyalty as party chairman of the coalition's junior partner.

A test of this loyalty could be his handling of the party conference resolution to do without a natural gas tax, contrary to a coalition agreement upheld by his predecessor in office, Martin Bangemann.

Lambsdorff can be an awkward politician; the FDP may also discover this itself.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 11 October 1988)

■ EAST BERLIN

Communist officials know that it's best to keep lid tightly shut

God bestows wisdom upon those in high office, goes an old saying. But, God or no God, that wisdom soon vanishes if those officials are not constantly under public control.

This explains why all dictatorships are sooner or later doomed to failure.

Where is the collective wisdom of the East German leadership? In the year 1988 it is still using means of 20 to 30 years ago to retain its power.

The East Berlin party leader, Erich Honecker, claims that a great deal of what can be seen and heard in western television and radio is false. They didn't happen.

There is no growing unrest; there is no protest there against a state which says it doesn't need *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

A power struggle is allegedly taking place in the highest echelon of the Communist party leadership and the street-fighting in East Berlin shown in western TV reports is regarded by some as the public manifestation of this struggle.

Although this cannot be ruled out such a direct connection is more a case of wishful thinking.

Some Politburo members already seem to be convinced that Gorbachov's reforms will not be successful. Others are not quite so certain.

Most of the old men in the East Berlin leadership nevertheless have something in common: they all grew up in the world of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", in which every trick in the book was used to defend the single truth.

For these veterans even an extremely cautious pluralism is inconceivable, especially in the state-controlled media.

Like almost no other institution in East Germany, the media have been subjected to extremely strict censorship and control.

The idea of the press could become a kind of watchdog of government activities is simply unimaginable to the powers that be.

This is why the church press is such a challenge for the ruling Communist party.

Up until recently the church press was able to evade total censorship. Now, however, the authorities are cutting off the supply of fresh air.

For fear of losing its own power the state dismisses a clear offer made by the church.

The Protestant Church in East Germany has a vital interest in persuading actual and potential churchgoers not to leave the country, people who would probably prefer to stay put under different circumstances.

The church can (could?) cushion the pressure to leave. It was able to find enough air to breathe in certain fields. If this is taken away many people will only

Continued on page 8

One little word gets up the official nostrils

DIE ZEIT

Yet again television in the Federal Republic has been showing East Berlin state security police jostling and beating their way through demonstrators and camera teams.

It is once again the uglier side of East Germany which is surfacing. This time the trouble is one word: *Erneuerung* (renewal).

The East German Communist leaders are aparently so offended by the word that they are willing to let their international reputation plummet rather than hear or read it.

The word cropped up in a petitionary prayer planned for publication in the church magazine *Die Kirche*.

The State Press Office complained about the sentence in which God's help was petitioned for the country's renewal.

A silent march of protest against the prayer's censorship was prevented by the police and the state security service.

The western media reported 50 arrests. The (East) state newsagency later referred to 80 people who had been taken into custody for identification and already set free.

The president of the Protestant Church Council in East Germany, Manfred Stolpe, feels that the church is a go-between in the dialogue about problems which officially do not exist: the desire to leave the country, environmental pollution, demands for legal rights and democratic participation.

By subjecting church journals to censorship the state only achieves the opposite of what it wants.

Only a few subscribers of the church magazine would have normally read the controversial sentence in the prayer.

The publicity surrounding its censorship has made the whole affair all too clear for those with eyes to see.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 October 1988)

An iron curtain descends behind activist

Two months ago, a civil rights campaigner from East Berlin called Bärbel Bohley became the symbol of what seemed to be an apparent wind of change in the treatment of dissidents by the East Germans.

She took part in a protest in East Germany in January and then was discreetly ushered out of the country to spend several months in Britain.

Then, with equal discretion, she was ushered back into East Germany via Prague. Frau Bohley, however, who attached such importance to remaining a citizen of East Germany, soon got a taste of her rights her status brings.

On 8 October she was refused permission to go back to Prague for a visit.

Banning visits by members of protest and ecological movements to meet like-minded protesters in socialist brother countries is nothing unusual in East Germany.

In Barbel Bohley's case, however, the refusal has a demonstrative character.

It is a slap in the face for the optimism triggered by her voluntary return.

It also again draws public attention to an affair on which, thanks to Frau Bohley's restraint, dust had begun to settle.

The action of the East Berlin authorities can hardly be interpreted as anything else but a confirmation of the rigid course against dissidents.

The latest attempts to prevent TV coverage by western media of the ecumenical conference of East German religious groups in Magdeburg show that the state uses every opportunity to demonstrate its inflexibility on the question of dissidents.

(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 11 October 1988)

Embassy sit-in 7 sentenced for trying to get to West

An East Berlin court has handed down suspended sentences of between eight and 18 months with two years' probation on seven East Germans who occupied the Danish embassy in the city in the hope of being allowed to travel to the West.

The court accused them of "trespassing" and of "interfering with state or social activities".

Apart from the fact that spectacular acts such as the occupation of embassies, which have occurred quite often in the past in East Germany, are unable to solve problems, the Danish government has been brought into discredit by the reaction of the Danish ambassador in this particular case.

After the seven men had refused the offer by the East Berlin authorities to assure them exemption from punishment if they left the embassy peacefully the ambassador had them forcefully thrown out of the building.

They were then immediately arrested by the state security police waiting outside.

Gone was the memory of those brave Danes who gave help to the victims of persecution in the war under German occupation.

The ambassador should have at least tried to obtain the official guarantee of the East Berlin authorities that the seven men would not be punished for their action.

Despite the suspended sentences on probation it is clear that the court's verdict is intended as a kind of psycho-terror to deter others from taking similar action in future.

It is more than doubtful whether this will be effective. The only real solution is to make life worth living in East Germany.

The steps taken against church magazines and western journalists, however, suggest that there is little hope for any improvement in the near future.

Hans Nauheimer

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 13 October 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

An affair of similarities and differences: an ambassador looks at two nations

I believe that in the post-World War II period, the German image of America and the American image of the Federal Republic have passed through three stages.

The first lasted from the end of the war until sometime in the 1960s. The shattering experience of the 1933-45 era together with enlightened US postwar policy and the generosity of individual Americans led many Germans, especially young ones, to view the United States as a model.

This was true across a broad spectrum of German society and extended even to many intellectuals. Thus, during the reconstruction of the 1950s, the United States did leave a major imprint on this country. The superficial similarities became so great that a visitor to almost any German city might imagine himself to be in the United States. On both sides, a myth developed about our relationship — the myth that we were becoming identical.

But the German embrace of America in the 1950s was too uncritical and the German view of nearly every facet of American life too idealised. The American view was a mirror-image of the German — seeing so much that resembled the United States. Americans increasingly came to think of the Federal Republic as a "little America" that happened to be in Europe.

These views generated expectations that could not in the end be sustained. This led to a second stage in our postwar relationship. As the Federal Republic came near the end of its successful period of reconstruction, Germans began once again to think about their own identity, to debate about what it means and should mean to be a German.

Because Germans had defined so much of their postwar society according to American models, this debate over German identity was ironically conducted in large part over the quality of American life and American policy. The turmoil of the late 60s and the early 70s, triggered in part by the Vietnam War, divided America. But it had perhaps an even greater impact here. We in the United States lost a war. Many Germans, particularly younger ones, lost an ideal. The United States, which had been a model during the 1950s, became for many young Germans an anti-model during the 1970s.

Americans, saddled with the misperception about the Americanisation of Germany, became confused and concerned about what seemed to be relentless German criticism. Many saw criticism of the United States as a sign of rampant anti-Americanism in Germany. Many on both sides came to feel that our entire relationship was in jeopardy.

In the 1980s, we have begun to move toward a third stage in our relationship, one based on neither romanticism nor disillusion but on a more realistic appreciation of our differences as well as our similarities.

What characterises this new stage in the fact that Germans are now seeking and asserting their own identity distinct from the American model. There is a renewed interest in German history, a renewed pride in German culture, a renewed willingness openly to express a certain sense of German achievement in quite a few areas of life.



Evidence of an emerging German identity, says US ambassador Richard Burt. (Photo: Sven Simon)

In short, there is growing evidence that a German identity is emerging — an identity defined neither by imitation nor by rejection of the United States.

Some people on both sides of the Atlantic find this disturbing. A number of observers speculate that the resurgence of German culture and German pride means that the two societies are moving apart, that the close cooperation which has characterised our postwar relationship up to now is inevitably doomed.

I cannot accept such a gloomy forecast. It is not a bad thing that Germans are regaining pride in their culture and history — that is a necessary step in the search for identity. It need not worry us that we are different in many ways. Our differences are simply a fact, a fact based on our different geography and historical experiences — and the implications of our differences are exactly the contrary of what the pessimists are saying. The important and interesting ways in which our countries differ highlight complementary strengths that I believe offer rewarding new opportunities for German-American cooperation.

First, we are different in size. America is a continent with few neighbours and protected by two oceans. The Federal Republic is geographically compact, surrounded by many neighbours. The result is that while the United States is tempted to go it alone, the Federal Republic is driven by the imperative of international cooperation.

Second, though we are both diverse, we are different in our diversity. The texture of American society, based on a complex and ever-changing ethnic mix, has resulted in a richness of language, fine arts, life styles and approaches to problem-solving that is unique in the world.

The Federal Republic is much more ethnically homogeneous. Its diversity stems from history and historical memory—and the extent of that diversity is reflected in the fact that the Federal Republic, almost alone among European countries, has not one, but a series of capital cities, one for politics, one for finance, one for trade, and one for the media. Every major German city provides national leadership in some area of life.

Third, though we share many common democratic institutions, our political systems work in different ways. The German system is based on relatively centralised, relatively disciplined parties. The German politician advances by getting ahead in his party. This system serves to draw together the political debate, giving national, long-term policies a high priority in both domestic and foreign affairs.

The American political system is characterised by weak parties and decentralised power. The power bases of American politicians are individual and local. American politics reflects the diversity of the United States and projects that diversity into our national and international policy-making.

Fourth, our economic structures are different in important ways. German society is economically more homogeneous, providing nearly all its citizens with a high standard of living, a remarkable degree of job security and a reliable social-welfare net. German business seeks long-term success, security and, arguably, an "acceptable" as opposed to a maximum margin of profitability.

In America, wealth is less evenly distributed, but greater social flexibility encourages innovation, offers immense opportunities and allows our country to integrate more quickly larger numbers of immigrants into its society. Rags-to-riches stories are still an ordinary part of American life.

Of course there are opportunities to fail as well as to succeed; and failure in the American system can be fraught with great risks, especially since our social welfare net is by no means as comprehensive as the German. Risk-taking, however, is an accepted part of the American system. Businessmen can fail in one venture and still be able to succeed in another. By comparison, Germans seem more risk-averse.

Fifth, the Federal Republic is a settled and stable society. By contrast, the United States continues to be a land of restless migrants. American geographic mobility is legendary. Nearly a fifth of the American population moves every year — a statistic many Germans have trouble believing.

Germans are less mobile, and that poses problems for businesses and regions seeking to take advantage of the opportunities created by technological change. Of course, there are also costs associated with America's mobility. A developed sense of tradition and local community, so visible in the Federal Republic, often eludes us.

Sixth and finally, American geographic mobility is matched by an almost equal degree of social mobility, both vertical and horizontal. This unique American quality produces societal tensions and occasional strife, but it also means greater opportunity and more innovation.

Cross-fertilisation among different professions is especially common in the United States. Lawyers become businessmen. Businessmen become heads of universities. Professors found companies. Movie actors become politicians, even statesmen. It seems to me that Germans, by contrast, tend to enter a career early and stay with it.

There are of course advantages to this — the veteran German *Beamter*, politician or business executive will bring to his job a professionalism, a set of skills and a historical perspective that equip him to take the "long view" of changing developments. There is thus greater continuity in German decision-making than in the United States, where officials move in and out of government and executives change jobs more quickly: and are therefore often inclined to short-term thinking and seeking the "quick fix" for problems.

I can best sum up our essential differences by suggesting that the more ordered and less mobile German society promotes a feeling of community and a sense of belonging. When the welfare state is added to the equation, the result is a highly developed sense that the outcome of all social interactions should ultimately be "fair".

America, socially, economically and politically, is a much more rough-and-tumble place. Not all the participants will achieve the same result. But our society certainly generates opportunities for them to try. In short, where German society stresses the need for fairness, American society emphasizes opportunity.

The recognition that we are not the same is important if we are to understand why from time to time we respond differently to the same developments. Equally important, I believe, it is also the best reason we have for preserving and strengthening our relationship.

Our common strategic interests make German-American cooperation necessary. Our common political values make cooperation possible. But it is our differing strengths and weaknesses that can make cooperation so rewarding. Each brings something to our relationship from which the other can learn and profit.

Thus, as we prepare for the 1990s, we should be entering a new stage of our relations, one in which both Germans and Americans have more realistic expectations of one another. We should be able to recognise our differences without being disturbed by them, to take advantage of the ways in which we differ as well as of our similarities.

We must remember that we share core values that allow the differences between us to be opportunities rather than dangers. American business has much to learn from German stability, continuity, ability to engage in long-term strategic planning and to produce goods of high quality.

Germans can learn by observing the American entrepreneurial spirit, willingness to take risks and vitality in the area of small business. Americans can learn a great deal from Germans about budgetary discipline and habits of personal saving — but Germans would do well to study how America has achieved such rapid economic growth and created so many jobs.

The learning process is at least equally important in other policy areas. The United States, for example, must control its impulses toward unilateralism, resolve not to withdraw from the defense of Europe — while Germans and other Europeans should be prepared to accept broader security responsibilities outside Europe.

In short, we can learn from and thus complement each other — but only if we can understand each other.

Richard Burt

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 August 1988)

This article is an excerpt from a book by *the American Ambassador to Bonn*, Richard Burt. The book, *Deutschland und Amerika: Partner für eine Welt im Wandel*, is published in German by Busse Seewald-Verlag. It featured in the Frankfurt Book Fair this month. The excerpt appeared in the national daily, *Die Welt*.

■ THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

A boomlet is welcomed, but no one is certain how long it will last

The construction industry is enjoying prosperous times again, although it is not clear how long they will last. Housing is picking up after an exceptionally bad year last year when only 220,000 units were built. This compares with 674,000 units in 1973. Thomas Kröter reports for *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt.*

Konrad Carl, chairman of the building workers union, was able to cheer up *delegates at the union's conference in Nuremberg* with some good news.

In an industry that has been in decline for years, they have got used to bad news. But construction is on the way up — even house-building, which had been in steady decline.

Economic experts say that the building industry has become a mainstay of the economic upswing.

Last year, there was a post-war record low in home-building when fewer than 220,000 units were built and the number of planning and building permits fell by 13 per cent to 190,000.

In the first half of this year alone 102,000 permits have been issued, 12 per cent up on the same period last year.

But neither the building industry as a whole nor the housing sector are out of the rough.

Despite the trend, growth is not enough to compensate for the lean years, and it is unclear if workers now can prepare *for a long period of prosperity. It* depends less on demand than on other factors. Demand for homes is increasing considerably.

In the boom city of Frankfurt there is no lack of companies prepared to pay over DM50 per square metre per month in the new skyscrapers going up in "Mainhattan" — Manhattan on the River Main.

They are prepared to pay their employees salaries so that they can afford up to DM20 a square metre in rent. But most of the people looking for houses or apartments are not so well off.

Who is going to build houses for people who do not have enough money to pay?

Helmut Schlich, managing director of the German Tenants Association, said: "There is no such thing as cheap, newly-built houses. If building costs are DM2,500 per square metre, shall we say, then the rent to cover costs must be DM20 a square metre."

The Deutscher Caritasverband, a Catholic charity has criticised building policies which put up luxury homes and demands that more "social dwellings" should be built, housing financed by the state or trade unions for rental to people with low incomes.

Those who have for years propagated the idea that there is no landlords market, only a tenants market, have come to realise that there is an urgent need for reasonably-priced accommodation.

The oft-quoted "magical" figure of a million houses standing empty has silently been let drop and is no longer referred to.

Even the notorious blocks of apartments that most cities have where people don't really want to live — dormitory towns such as Chorweiler in Cologne, Hamburg's Mümmelmannsberg and Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, are almost full.

Oscar Schneider (CSU), Housing Minister in Bonn, expects a "socially dangerous lack of housing" in flourishing major cities.

The opposition in Bonn, tenants organistions and experts have been warning of this for years.

What is decisive in the demand for housing is not the sinking population figure but the increasing number of households. The Housing Ministry estimates that over the next ten years these will increase by about 800,000.

The reasons for this are the increasing number of marriages ending in divorce, and the increase in the number of young people going to live on their own.

These figures do not include one factor that will wake Bonn politicians from their sleep: in this year alone 200,000 immigrants from the East Bloc are expected to arrive here.

When Herr Schlich says that many of these immigrants might have to spend the winter in emergency accommodation, it is not a cheap propaganda jibe from a man a noted as a critic of the government. He is pointing out the reality of the situation. It can be seen in many cities.

Bonn has made DM750m available for immigrant housing. The *Lander* have made similar arrangements — a noteworthy about-turn, after officialdom had almost withdrawn entirely from building "social dwellings."

The policy in Bonn is that anyone who cannot afford high rents will be helped with a housing allowance.

This is not enough by a long way. Even this year's rents and housing report shows this clearly.

German households apply almost 16 per cent of their disposable income on average for accommodation.

Among the low-paid 38 per cent is paid out for housing and this is only reduced to 21 per cent by the state's rent allowance — so five per cent above the average.

Apart from those involved, the sufferers are the cities and communities. Their social budgets will be strained even further.

If social hardship is not even avoided by rent allowance, then no additional accommodation will be provided for the socially disadvantaged.

A survey conducted by the German Institute for Urban Affairs, Berlin, reported that the "socially dangerous lack of accommodation" was not the result of a fortuitous and transitory market development in just a few cities, but the manifestation of long-term structural trends, which can only be altered with difficulty.

Between 1970 and 1974 (the reseachers have not offered more accurate dates) the figure of 42 people per thousand receiving social benefit doubled.

At the same time the number of reasonablypriced homes for them was reduced by pulling houses down, drastic rent increases after modernisation, conversions to owner-occupier accommodation and the termination of fixed rents for old, "social dwellings."

There are at present three-million "social dwellings." This figure will have been halved by 1995, because the public loans for the houses have been paid back.

What to do? Central government and the *Länder* will have difficulties scraping together the funds for the emigrants programme in which 30,000 houses are to be built.

How will one cope with a doubling of the demand for housing by the year 2030, forecast in a pilot calculation by the Federal Housing Ministry?

This much is certain: the oft-quoted mechanism of owner demand and rent allowance is not sufficient to prevent creating "a two-thirds societ" in the housing market; on the one hand a minority, who can always afford more lavish accommodation, and a majority who are more or less able to manage; and on the other hand a minority for whom even the most modest accommodation theatens to become unattainable luxury.

The question arises: what is the state's responsibility? A lot of new thinking is necessary to see what "social dwellings" of the future will look like without making the mistakes of the past — but above all what are vital are state authorities which stand out through an economic handling of the budget and sensible expenditure policies, and which have not robbed themselves of their last possibilities for manoeuvre by further tax reductions for people who are mainly in the upper income bracket.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 October 1988)

Workers split over their leadership



Lots of dissent . . . union chief Carl. (Photo: dpa)

Konrad Carl was re-elected chairman of the building workers union, IG Bau-Stein-Erden. But he polled 15 per cent fewer votes than three years ago.

Delegates at the union conference in Nuremberg explain this by saying that the vote last time was to show solidarity to the outside world.

There had been internal turbulence. Left-wingers had appealed to the Supreme Court against the executive committee on questions about the union's statutes. To show their displeasure with the left, 95 per cent of the delegates then voted for Carl.

The atmosphere within the union is not good. The support for Carl is down. There were complaints at Nuremberg with words like "failings" and "neglect".

It shows that the union is having problems learning from its past. Many delegates are displeased with the leadership's path.

That the executive committee was said to be just acting in a routine manner was one of the more moderate complaint. More serious was the delegates' displeasure on the committee's policies in worker-employer relations which it, along with Carl, was pursuing. In good times *the delegates* sit in the same boat as *the employers*, and they benefit from this.

But when there is a crisis, and both sides have said there is a crisis, their conflicting interests are revealed.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 October 1988)

Union votes not to accept the unemployed

The building workers union has decided not to admit unemployed people who are not already members. Delegates decided after passionate discussion not to change the rules.

There was thunderous applause from the 332 delegates for the re-elected chairman, Konrad Carl. He referred to "the scandal of unemployment" and promised the 100,000 jobless in the industry the union's solidarity.

There was approval when he said that more must be done to recruit white-collar workers and women. He said there was a disproportionate high number of older members.

Whereupon Karl-Peter Scheu, head of the union in Bad Wildungen, Hesse, said: "We have heard that women, white-collar workers and young people are our great challenge.

"But how do we act? A woman, also a white-collar worker, stands as a candidate for the chairmanship but is not elected. A chance was missed."

In the controversial debate over a motion to alter the union's statutes so that unemployed people could be admitted, many speakers said that the union must make up its mind.

Some maintained that admitting the jobless would be good for the union's image. One young delegate said: "We would not then be able to say to someone unemployed who has not been a member: you didn't join us in the past when you were working, so we're not accepting you now when you're out of work." Another quoted the Bible: "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone."

But, despite these opinions, the vote produced a clear majority to leave the statutes as they are.

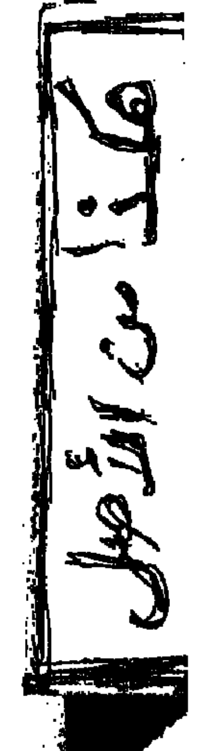
The majority attitude was: anyone who did not want to know about the union when he was working should not be able to join when he is unemployed. He can wait until he is again a wage-earner.

In practice the matter is rather different. An unemployed person who went to a union office would not be turned out. He is given advice and often membership application forms.

In order to get round the statutes the application is back-dated to a when the person was in work. Sometimes, the fact that the applicant is unemployed is omitted from the form.

Peter Abspacher

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 7 October 1988)



■ FINANCE

In search of the meaning of 'social' in a social market economy

Germany's economy is often described as a "social market economy." It is a system that equally rejects the laissez-faire and dirigist approaches. Basic Law, the Constitution, guarantees the rights to own property and to practise private enterprise; it also lays down certain principles of "social progress". What does the "social" of the social market economy mean? Klaus Peter Krause decided to find out for himself about this hardy perennial. So he went to Freiburg, in the far south-west of Germany, where a group of economists were meeting. His report appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.*

It must have been music to Ludwig Erhard's ears. At a meeting of economists in Freiburg, his name was mentioned again and again — with recognition, honour and respect.

It was no wonder: the meeting was called *40 years after Erhard had freed* the economy in the western part of Germany from the chains of government controls.

But the economists had not assembled merely to celebrate. They posed concrete questions about the "social market economy". An Erhard adviser, Alfred Müller-Armack, was quoted in Freiburg as saying that the main aim of the social market economy was to use the principle of the free market to achieve a linkage with "social equilibrium".

That might sound a nice and convenient definition. So how should the "social" component of economic policy be regarded? And: how pronounced should it be? How far should it be taken?

There are few terms which are so basically vapid and yet so popularly turned to so many uses. Some years ago, economist Friedrich A von Hayek decided to put the term under the magnifiying glass. He reached the zenith of his conclusions in 1978, also in Freiburg, when he declared: "I haven't got a clue what social means."

So, *now the* question just has to be posed again. This time, delegates managed to crystallise this definition: "social" indicates efforts within the market economy to "form a situation in which... ideally everybody in society is involved in the market forces and therefore is guaranteed a direct share of the product of this market economy."

That is to the point and should be enough to reduce the differing standpoints to a common denominator. But it still cannot be said to be a concrete definition.

Harder concrete is offered by another economist, Walter Eucken, and Erhard himself. For Eucken, "social" meant first and foremost in efforts to limit economic and political power — but indirectly, through the economic system itself; but in addition through state-welfare organisations "in cases where self help and insurance are insufficient."

There was more to learn from Erhard himself. Dietrich Schönwitz, of the Bundesbank, and Horst Friedrich Wünsche, of the Ludwig Erhard Foundation, together elaborated: "social" meant a broad spread of the powers to make de*cisions in economic matters and a broad* distribution of economic power made possible as the result of economic independence.

His aim was an economic system where the need for the intervention of social welfare forces was minimal. For him, they said, the responsibility of the state for social protection was a matter of securing a minimum level of existence.

Schönwitz and Wünsche said Erhard's view was that increasing wealth should not serve as an avenue to extend the social-security system to improve people's financial position. On the contrary, it was a chance for less state, more individual say and more self-reliance.

Erhard had warned that mixing the free economic system with the alien principle of "distributing the national product" and the aim of redistribution to fulfil the demands for equality were "pseudo social."

Schönwitz and Wünsche separated social politics into three distinct forms: as regulatory policies, as policies for protection and security, and as a policy aimed both at securing an equilibrium and communal structuring.

They found that 40 years of social policies had led to clear and substantial alterations. These alterations were often assessed as if the social component of the social market economy had, in fact, undergone a type of crystallisation process.

But their opinion suggested that, in reality, the very opposite had happened, that there had been is rather a withdrawal from neo-liberal social ideas.

Where, though, is the clarity to enable the idea to be put across away from the halls of academe? At least Matthias Graf v.d. Schulenberg tried to bring the topic down to earth. He established only a minimal amount of interest in theoretically investigating the term and perceived an added difficulty in the question in that there was a difference between a "social" market economy and an "unsocial" one.

Certainly, there was one thing that seemed to him uncontested: that "social" had something to do with distribution and rights to a share of any distribution.

For him, the market economy (within limits) was social because it required a adjustments to environmental (economic) change and created institutions that *spread risks and made possible freedom* of choice.

Equality of opportunity he described as a "social" aim; while the market economy itself was a social organisation

Frankfurter Allgemeine

structure that supported equality of opportunity because everyone involved profited from their application of abilities and utilisation of innovatory capabilities. Consequently, a breakdown of opportunity is unsocial.

That is correct. But it still doesn't clarify sufficiently. And if it did, it would nevertheless not take us away from the eternal conflict between the Liberals and the interventionist redistributors of wealth.

While the Liberals first and foremost see the social component as something ***that is attached to the market economy*** itself, the redistributors carry on a constant fight against the market because they don't have enough trust in it — and don't like it.

So the social component represents a sort of Trojan horse out of whose stomach emerges a threat to the market economy. In any case, it all gave the delegates something to take home to think about.

Klaus Peter Krause

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 October 1988)

Forgiveth them, they knoweth not what they predicteth

Only when things turn out better than expected are false prophets excused. This year, it is the turn of economic boffins to be given absolution.

Their mistake was over the performance of economic development. They had predicted that there would be four per cent growth this year. The latest data in July and August growth was 6.4 per cent. It seems like 1988 will be a good one for the German economy.

Contributing to the growth rate are some fortuitous elements both domestic and imported: currency stability, steadily climbing incomes, low interest rates, low oil prices and the boom in steel.

That the high use of capacity and the lively demand could stoke inflation and cause a subsequent stability crisis is less probable the more the dangers are kept under observation.

An increasing upswing in activity also increases the state's tax income. Therefore it is to be hoped that the chance will be recognised to reduce the high deficit and not immediately again to give in the basically unending demand for wishes increased welfare spending. In the workplace, there is the suggestion of hope. Because bigger order books today mean jobs tomorrow, it can be reckoned that ful employment will increase.

But there should be a warning against thinking that an economic upswing is alone enough to create full employment; unemployment is less a problem of economic performance rather than of a structural nature.

Flexibility, better training, cutting back bureaucracy, cutting state subsidies, low taxes as well as the relentless battle against trade barriers are all tried and tested means of maintaining or even increasing the pace.

The Bonn government should occasionally also make sure that news of this growth gets around a bit more to those who haven't heard about it. That would be better than another round of the usual self praise — and it would also develop a psychological momentum.

Peter Gillies

(Die Welt, Bonn, 7 October 1988)

■ RETAILING

Dial-your-groceries firm trips on crossed lines

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Setting up in business is not often plain sailing. Moving into new terrain can make it even tougher.

Monika Donath discovered this when she registered Martins Telekauf GmbH in May in Bergisch Gladbach, near Cologne. It was one of the first companies in the *country to offer shopping by telephone.*

Anyone unable or unwilling to go shopping can have their groceries delivered at a cost of five marks.

The idea seems simple, but in practice there were difficulties that Frau Donath had never dreamed of.

First, there were delays in getting a telephone, clearly essential for this business. Eventually, after much badgering, the business was allocated a number, which was printed on company brochures and in the shopping catalogue.

Then, at short notice, the number was changed. So the catalogue was wrong.

The next blow came a few days later when the Martins Telekauf EDP equipment went wild and the computer refused to print out bills for deliveries.

She sorted that out. The next surprise was that many callers did not want to order groceries. Instead they wanted to make inquiries about the business to imitate it.

Frau Donath: "There were 100 people at least, mostly unemployed, who simply wanted to copy us."

Her idea has been put into operation in the Mainz area.

The real problem is that the new way of shopping by telephone has not properly established itself yet. Frau Donath speaks of the inhibitions customers must overcome. All their lives they have only known the direct form of shopping.

As credit facilities in the foodstuffs industry are very tight, a large number of regular customers are essential along with high turnover.

Although the area Martins Telekauf (from Leverkusen, Bergisch Gladbach and to the suburbs of Cologne on the right bank of the Rhine, Overath, Rösrath up to Troisdorf) includes about a million people, the company is only making between 30 and 50 delivery rounds per day. Frau Donath could only hope to get into the black with 100 a day.

Martins Telekauf has done better in the average turnover per customer — at present it is DM110; the company had set its sights on DM120.

The span of the cash spent on purchases extends from DM11.75 to DM1,200.

Once the entire stock of champagne was ordered for an evening soirée, organised at short notice; sometimes customers just want a couple of dairy product items for the weekend.

But most orders are for normal grocery supplies. Frau Donath said that so far no one in Leverkusen had ordered a single egg.

Customers reactions have been mostly positive. Half of the 3,000 regular customers are old people who are only too happy when someone else hauls their heavy shopping bags home.

People complain about the prices; they point out that goods are cheaper at Aldi, a nationwide chain of low-priced grocery supermarkets. Frau Donath maintains that her prices are the usual supermarket prices.

One mother rang up to say she had saved a lot of money through the service: "When I go shopping with my three children, they load my trolley with a lot of things I don't want and I overspend."

Martins Telekauf takes the order and buys only what is on the list.

Many callers have complained that the range of goods in the catalogue is too limited. It seemed 2,000 items was not enough. That has been enlarged to 2,500.

The nature of demand has also meant a change in the goods on offer: diabetic and health foods have been included and, because of surprisingly low demand, the wines and spirits list has been trimmed. Demand for fresh meat was greater than expected.

Supplies are drawn from Rewe Rhein-Sieg, the chain-store owners, who have a shareholding in the shopping-by-telephone company.

Although Frau Donath and her husband, Klaus, have to work 16 hours per day, including weekends, they are still enthusiastic about the enterprise.

In company with market researchers they are convinced that their idea is viable, because the proportion of elderly people in the population will increase in the future.

Ideas for extra business are being investigated. The company will supply to firms, taking part in exhibitions in the Cologne fair complex, which have to entertain their personnel or guests.

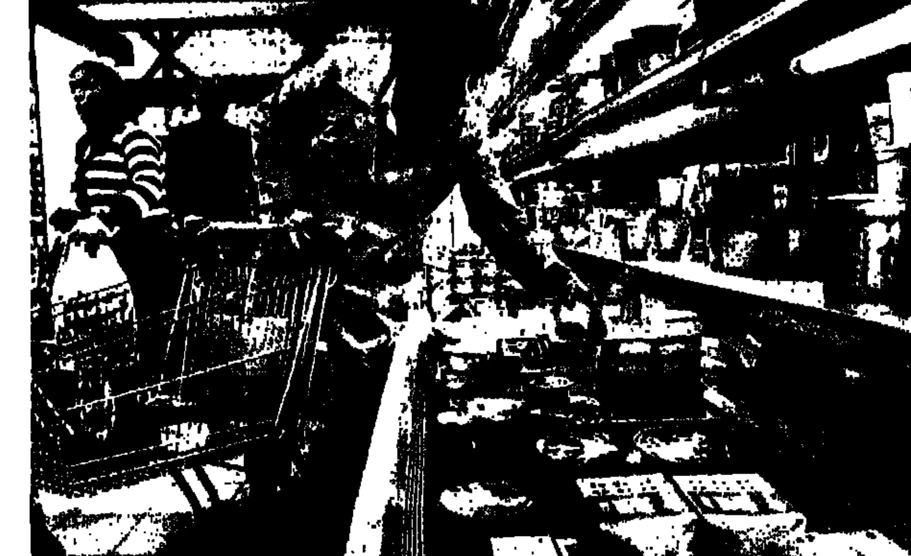
The company will provide baskets of delicacies as birthday gifts, and food parcels over Christmas to East Germany and Poland.

Whether customers will make use of the service in large numbers is an open question. Shopping by telephone in this country is in its infancy — contrary to other European countries.

It is not surprising then that among Martins Telekauf customers there are many Dutch and Belgians, living in the Cologne area. They can do their shopping now here, by telephone, a system they have been used to at home in Holland and Belgium for a long time.

Jürgen Sussenburger

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 7 October 1988)



She's killing the corner store.

(Photo: BfH)

Self-service outlets are slowly suffocating the corner store

Many children of the 1980s only know from museums or as toys the old corner shop where the owner serves the customer.

Thirty years ago there were 145,621 small shops in Germany. Now there are 7,431. The blame can be placed on idea imported from the United States: self-service

In 1938, businessman Herbert Eklöh and his brother-in-law, Hugo Hedfeldt, looked at how they could get maximum performance with the minimum of cost and labour. They looked across the Atlantic and saw the answer.

There, customers had already been serving themselves for 20 years. Clarence Saunders opened the first self-service shop in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1917.

Eklöh picked up the idea. He ran a pilot venture in Oggersheim, a district of Ludwigshafen, and in Ludwigshafen itself. The first self-service shop was opened in Osnabrück on 24 February 1939.

War and the reconstruction period after the war hampered the spread of the idea but it regained momentum during Germany's economic miracle, particularly in the 1970s, when the trend towards concentration speeded up a lot. Self-service chains sprang up everywhere.

The self-service system is now taken as a matter of course in the grocery business. Anything else is an exception.

Some statistics published by the trade magazine, *sb-Artikel* demonstrate just how dynamic Ekhöl's idea was.

The number of self-service goods and consumer goods supermarkets rose over the period 1965-1986 from 66 to 2,485.

Over the same period the shop-space taken up by these supermarkets increased from 250,000 to eight million square metres, and turnover shot up from DM500m to DM59bn.

Ekhöl's idea for the maximum turnover from the minimum of costs was refined even further. In a supermarket covering 400 square metres one employee generates a turnover of DM378,000 a year. In a self-service merchandise warehouse ten times larger an employee generates a turnover of DM550,000.

Public applause for Ekhöl's development 50 years ago was restrained. Consumers today also have little praise for this form of shopping.

GfK-Marktforschung, a Nuremberg-based market research organisation, asked 1,000 women four years ago and again last year what upset them most when they went shopping.

In both surveys two-thirds complained of the long time they had to wait at the check-out.

In 1983 a good third of those questioned complained about the impersonal atmosphere in supermarkets; four years later 44 per cent made the same complaint.

More than a quarter of the woman complained that too few personnel were on hand. Four years previously only 17 per cent voiced irritation about this.

The attitude of employees in supermarkets has also changed. In 1983 only 18 per cent of the women took offence at the unfriendly attitude of supermarket personnel. Last year more than a quarter mentioned this.

The employees' attitude is hardly surprising. They have to work for eight hours a day in an atmosphere that is becoming ever more impersonal. Customers are only at the mercy of this atmosphere for half an hour.

Christine Skowronowski

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1988)

Continued from page 4

be able to choose between total resignation or the attempt to somehow get out of the country.

The Communist party functionaries know that major social upheavals only take place in dictatorships when the safety-valves of social protest are slightly opened, not when they are kept sealed. This political fact of life contradicts the laws of physics.

The repression of East Berlin leadership, therefore, does possess an apparent logic.

Even Gorbachov would probably tolerate the frosty rejection of his *perestroika* by a brother party if East Germany stays peaceful and keeps working hard.

Yet even if Gorbachov's reforms get bogged down, public admissions of massive faults of Eastern Europeau regimes make it impossible to return to old methods as if nothing had happened. There is proof of this almost every day. On one day East Berlin state security service feels obliged to arrest a small and peaceful bunch of demonstrators and in doing so hit out at western camera teams.

On the next day the demonstrators are sent home after being given a caution.

Although such muscle-flexing followed by an immediate retreat can be frequently observed this particular case was also connected with the fact that a prominent visitor from America, the Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, will be travelling to East Germany during his trip through Eastern Europe.

Honecker would like to finish his political career with the crowning achievement of being welcomed by the US President.

Beating his way to such a meeting with the help of a truncheon, however, is not the way to improve his own and his country's international reputatation.

Hans-Herbert Gaebel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1988)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Russians look for German scientific help in attempt to reach Mars

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In 1820, mathematician and astronomer Carl Friedrich Gauss made an unusual suggestion.

He urged that an oversized wheat field in Siberia was grown in the form of a right-angled triangle.

Gauss wanted the huge field, fenced *in* by trees, to be visible from a great height.

His intention was to indicate to the intelligent beings he believed existed on Mars that earthlings possessed an advanced knowledge of mathematics.

The Gaussian notion of the existence of intelligent beings on Mars has proved incorrect.

Nevertheless, the (East and West German) great-grandchildren of the brilliant mathematician have still got their sights trained on Mars — regardless of the costs and even though there are probably more important problems to solve for mankind than making it possible for men to land on some distant planet.

Apart from their participation in the technologically sophisticated Phobos project, during which two space probes will be launched to observe the Mars moon Phobos, West German space researchers want to be more than just onlookers when the Soviet Union takes even more steps towards making the conquest of Mars a realistic proposition.

In their interplanetary research activities the Soviets are apparently willing to share their scientific findings and costs with other countries.

Raold Sagdeyev, a leading Soviet space official, cabled confirmation to Gerhard Neukum from the German Aeronautics and Space Travel Research Institute (DFVLR) in Oberpfaffenhofen that "your experiment has top priority for us and will be selected if your offer still applies."

Assuming approval by Bonn this may result in a similarly long-term cooperation to that which exists between Paris and Moscow.

First of all, Gerhard Neukum and a number of his colleagues would like to participate as independent experimenters in the Soviet "Mars 1994" project.

In this project Soviet engineers want to set up a space station in orbit around Mars and send a fully automated and remote-controlled "Mars-rover" to examine the planet's surface and atmosphere.

There are also plans to set up a network of smaller stations for global meteorological studies on the Red Planet, to release research balloons and to test a transport system whose task will be to *return the film payload back into* orbit.

The main contribution to the project by Neukum and his team of researchers will be a high-resolution stereo colour-television camera (HRSC), which will film the planet's surface from an orbiting position to enable a new mapping of Mars.

With the greatest precision and a ground resolution of 10 to 20 metres per photo section the German camera will be able to identify important surface details.

The most precise mapping of Mars so far was completed with the help of the American *Viking* Mars probe (between 1976 and 1978), which had a ground resolution of at most 100 to 300 metres per section of the camera shot.

A television system developed by the GDR for the Soviet Mars orbiter in 1994 only has a resolution of about 200 metres.

The DFVLR's high-resolution system also allows a differentiation of the different chemical and mineralogical surface strata.

A visit to a DFVLR workshop in Oberpfaffenhofen by a high-ranking delegation from the Moscow space research institute IKI confirmed how much importance the Soviets attach to the West German contributions.

The Russian scientists showed a keen interest in the possible German activities in the 1994 Mars mission.

Although the head of the institute, Raold Sagdeyev, had to return to Moscow to help manage a crisis caused by an operating error at the ground station which led to a temporary loss of control of the space probe *Phobos I*, the deputy head of the IKI institute, Henrik Avanesov, confirmed "the great interest of the USSR in independent German space experiments."

The Max Planck Institute of Chemistry in Mainz also stands a good chance of becoming involved in the 1994 mission.

The institute would like to install sophisticated analysis systems in the Mars module vehicle to examine the planet's surface.

The range of instruments include an X-ray fluorescent analyser, a device to pick up alpha rays, and a neutron spectrometer which can detect water to a depth of up to one metre below ground level.

The Mars researchers not only hope to find traces of water beneath the planet's surface, but perhaps traces of simple life forms — a major argument for the Mars expedition.

The German researchers at the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in Mainz want to make sure that they keep pace with international developments in this field.

In a special memorandum they called for the allocation of funds for "the development and provision of and participation in experiments for coming missions as well as involvement in the analysis of samples brought back from Mars."

Rock samples from Mars, however, are unlikely to be brought back to Earth until the 1998 mission at the earliest.

A landing module could collect the Mars rocks, transport them into the Mars orbit and then back to Earth.

The 1998 flight will also be a dress rehearsal for a Mars landing by cosmonauts at a later date, probably some time between the year 2010 and 2015.

Henrik Avanesov, one of the leading Soviet experts on space travel, made it clear in Oberpfaffenhofen how serious the Soviet Union takes this project.

He outlined the long-term goals of the extensive Russian Mars programme, which the Soviet Union intends completing even if this cannot be achieved by the current generation of scientists.

Before the first human being can set foot on the surface of our neighbouring plants, however, a number of still unresolved technical problems must be overcome, above all, the question of safe transport to and from Mars.

At present, a manned spacecraft equipped with fuel, instruments and enough air to breathe for the crew would be too heavy to allow it to take off from the earth's surface.

Even *Energija*, the huge Soviet carrier rocket, could only launch part of the necessary payload for such a Mars mission into space despite its lifting capacity of roughly 100 tons. Other thrust systems will have to be developed.

The renowned American physicist Van Allen, whose country lags several years behind the Soviet Union in the field of Mars research, strictly refuses to talk of manned Mars missions "as long as we are not able to transport smaller payloads into space."

Most Soviet and American scenarios, therefore, suggest overcoming the obstacle of the earth's gravitation by putting an interplanetary spacecraft into the earth's orbit, which could then be fuelled and launched.

The immense costs of a manned Mars mission represents a further obstacle.

Experts at the American space authority NASA estimate that over $100bn would probably be needed for such a mission.

Even in the event of the envisaged cooperation between the Soviet Union and the USA as well as other Western European countries the amount is still likely to act as a disincentive to project participation (at least in the West).

Worries

Many Congressmen in the USA are worried that exaggerated costs for a Mars programme could only be provided at the expense of essential social programmes.

Other western politicians fear that there will an unacceptable extent of technology transfer between West and East, which would benefit the Soviet Union more than the western industrialised countries.

Finally, sceptics also point towards a further barrier to manned missions to Mars: the unpredictability of human nature.

It is still not clear whether human beings can take the physical and psychological strain of a space flight lasting almost two years.

Excessive isolation, coping with nerve-racking stress situations, zero gravity in space, and perhaps an unforeseeable exposure to radiation are just some of the risks.

During comparable projects in remote regions of our own planet — such as polar expeditions — individuals who had to live in isolation and under considerable stress frequently showed violent and uncontrolled reactions.

Rüdiger Schwerthöffer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 3 October 1988)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Warning over levels of cancer-causing chemical

Benzol is one of the 20 most toxic solvents. It is known to cause leukaemia. The trade association of the German chemical industry has produced a brochure aimed at helping benzol *producers ensure that none leaks into* the air during manufacture.

About 50,000 tons of it a year do find their way into the atmosphere; 42,000 tons are produced by vehicle exhaust fumes.

The atmospheric benzol concentrations in urban areas with major traffic problems are often four times higher than the atmosphere's natural benzol content.

Representatives of the oil industry *play down the risks involved when* breathing in benzol-polluted air.

Klaus Klinksiek, research department head at the German Scientific Mineral Oil, Natural Gas and Coal Association (DGMK), an institute mainly financed by industry, assures the public that benzol emissions do not represent a health risk to the average citizen.

The oil industry's trade association claims that even petrol pump attendants, whose working environment can *be classed as benzol-contaminated, are* exposed to benzol concentrations of at most one ppm (part per million) — one part benzol to every million parts of air.

The association also points out that field surveys on workers have shown that cancerous diseases were only confirmed above a benzol concentration level of 100 ppm.

Richard Ott, manager of the Shell Chemie in Eschborn, says benzol is not highly carcinogenic.

He says that in view of its extensive incidence benzol is not relevant as a health-risk product. "otherwise we would all no longer be alive today."

The Shell Chemie is the marketing headquarters of the biggest German benzol producer, the Deutsche Shell AG.

Its refinery in Godorf near Cologne produces 400,000 tons of benzol each year.

Richard Ott is an important man in this branch. Ott, for example, assumed general responsibility for the completion of the Benzol Report of the Advisory Committee on Residue Environmental Pollutants (BUA), a report commissioned by the Bonn government.

The BUA consists of scientists, experts from the chemical industry, Federal Environment Office and Environment Ministry officials, who began several years ago to examine certain chemical substances they suspected of damaging health as well as polluting the environment.

Since it was set up in 1982 the BUA has finalised checks on 18 substances.

The committee found its nineteenth report particularly tough going. The report dealt with benzol.

The first draft version of the report submitted by the Shell Chemie was thwarted in the spring due to "substantial misgivings" on the part of the independent toxicologists represented in the *BUA*.

There were doubts about the data on the benzol emissions of internal combustion (Otto) engines, figures which industry had already refused to accept for many years.

The Federal Environment Office had scaled down the figure from 50,000 tons in 1982 to a current level of 42,000 tons "on the basis of exact studies."

In the words of Helmut Greim, a toxicologist as the Radiation and Environmental Research Society, a "tremendous amount."

The toxicologists in the BUA also torpedoed plans by the Shell Chemie to fix thresholds for benzol concentrations in the report.

They vehemently rejected the idea that surveys on workers exposed to benzol concentrations permit conclusions to be drawn about the health risk of a carcinogenic substance.

Helmut Greim emphasised that "carcinogenic is carcinogenic, even if there are only small amounts in the air."

A compromise was finally agreed on in the report. The expertise now refers to the figures laid down by the American health authority OSHA.

The OSHA lowered the tolerable benzol thresholds in the working environment from 100 to 10 ppm between 1941 and 1973.

In 1987 it forwarded a provisional recommendation for a benzol threshold of one ppm. According to the DGMK one ppm corresponds roughly to the benzol content of the air inhaled by motorists when they tank up their vehicles.

Studies published so far, however, only relate to survey on workers who were exposed on average for ten years, eight hours a day and five days a week to benzol-contaminated air.

Scientists lay down much lower thresholds for the lifelong intake of benzol.

The Regional Emission Protection Office (LIS) in Essen introduced a threshold figure of ten micrograms of benzol per cubic metre of air into the discussion, which is much lower than a hundredth ppm of benzol.

In many city centres the atmosphere's benzol pollution already lies somewhere between a level of 13 and 22 micrograms in comparison with roughly 0.5 micrograms in rural areas.

According to the LIS Report 36, the *most highly benzol-polluted town in* North Rhine-Westphalia is Castrop-Rauxel, with an annual average of 21.4 micrograms of benzol per cubic metre of air, closely followed by Bottrop (20.7), Duisburg-Meiderich (18.7) and Düsseldorf (16.9).

The highest figures of up to [illegible] micrograms were recorded in a residential area close to a coking plant in Essen-Katernberg.

The US Environment authority EPA already works on the assumption that every microgram of benzol in the atmosphere causes 7.5 cancer deaths per million persons. In Bottrop's case, for example, this means fifteen more deaths caused by leukaemia per 100,000 inhabitants.

By comparison, the radioactivity thresholds laid down by the Bonn government work on the basis of an additional mortality of a maximum of 10 deaths per 100 inhabitants.

Any attempt to significantly reduce benzol pollution must start by drastically cutting down toxic vehicle emissions. One of the main demands made by the BUA, therefore, is to step up measures designed to reduce benzol emissions.

This, however, is unlikely to be welcomed by the oil industry and the government in Bonn, since such measures cost a lot of money.

The oil industry uses benzol as an antiknock in petrol. Leaded petrol contains roughly 2.5 per cent benzol, unleaded petrol three per cent.

Although special purification techniques could lower the benzol content to one per cent, less harmful substitutes such as methyl-tert-butyl-ether (MTBE) would have to be added.

MTBE, however, is more expensive than the benzol which is already in petrol anyway.

Another problem is what to do with the then remaining 500,000 tons of benzol.

According to the Deutsche Esso, the German benzol market is "more or less saturated."

The main buyer is the chemical industry, which mainly processes the toxic substance into harmless synthetic materials or crop protection products.

The Hamburg-based Deutsche Shell fears ruinous consequences if the oil in*dustry has to introduce environmentally* harmless production: "Then there would be no more petrol production in Germany in the foreseeable future."

A further reduction of the benzol content in petrol could only be achieved on a voluntary basis anyway, since the European Community has just with difficulty reached agreement on a benzol threshold of five per cent in petrol.

One effective way of filtering benzol out of car exhaust emissions is the in*stallation of the three-way catalytic con*verter in line with the US norm.

As this converter is roughly DM1,000 more expensive than the much less effective Euro-converter it is not easy to sell

The tax exemption on cars fitted with a catalytic converter is gradually coming to an end.

Karl Nolte

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 October 1988)

Fewer firms but no reduction in pollution

There has been a decline in the number of companies in industries *that* are regarded as harmful to the *environ*ment such as mining and steel.

But a report says that this decline has *not resulted in an appreciably* cleaner environment.

There are fewer firms because of structural changes. But the Rheinisches-Westfälisches Institute of Economic Research (RWI) in Essen, says pollution is not declining because of the increased emission by the expanding chemicals and power industries.

Adjusted production processes and environmental stipulations, however, have managed to reduce the volume of pollutants.

In 1984, for example, roughly 2.5 million tons of sulphur dioxide, three million tons of nitrogen oxides, 0.7 million tons of dust, 7.4 million tons of carbon monoxide and 1.8 million tons of organic compounds were emitted during production, the generation of electricity and district heating and as a result of traffic and domestic heating.

With the exception of the nitrogen oxides the emission levels were substantially lower than those recorded during the 1960s, even though GNP increased by over a half during this period. *dpa/vwd*

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 4 October 1988)

■ MEDICINE

Reading facial expressions as an aide to diagnosis

Trying to read what is written in someone's face to gain an insight into a person's state of mind and personality is an age-old pursuit.

It was not until the 19th century, however, that efforts were made to give physiognomy, the art or practice of judging character from facial features, a scientific foundation.

Although this triggered further research into expression psychology the Swedish anatomist Carl-Herman Hjortsjö was the first researcher to establish the basis for a methodologically sound analysis of facial expression.

Hjortsjö regarded the play of features as an interplay of muscles and referred to 23 "neuromuscular functional units", muscles which respond to stimuli transmitted through the individual fibres of the facial nerve.

Two American psychologists, Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen, extended Hjortsjö's analytical model by elaborating a physiognomic code system, which is today generally accepted as a basis for the analysis of behavioural patterns in this field.

Physiognomy is part of the non-verbal interhuman communication, and its "basic vocabulary" is subject to universal rules which apply in all cultures.

Smiling, for example, the facial expression characterised by an upturning of the corners of the mouth, is interpreted throughout the world as a sign of friendliness, whereas an expression marked by a pulling down of the corners of the mouth is just as unmistakably taken to denote sadness or disappointment.

The facial expressions accompanying joy, annoyance, anger, disgust, fear or surprise are also immediately understood by people from all cultures.

Physiological tests have confirmed how deeply rooted facial expression is in human nature.

Ekman and his fellow researchers carried out experiments with the help of actors, who were asked to display a facial expression, such as turning down the corners of their mouths or pushing forward their chins, without describing the gesture in any detail.

While acting out their designated roles their heart beat rate as well as the temperature and resistance of their skin were measured.

Findings revealed some surprising effects of the "put-on" facial expression on these physiological parameters.

The "fear face" or "anger face", for example, speeded up the pulse rate, whereas the effects on the skin differed: the "fear face" triggered shivering, whereas the "anger face" made the actors feel hot.

In view of the significance of facial expression as a reflection of emotions the physiognomic code system can be used as a means of diagnosing pyschological disorders.

Professor Heinz Ellring is looking into this possibility at the Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry in Munich.

"Every psychiatric disorder," he explained, "is accompanied by emotional disturbances. And as facial expression is closely linked to emotions it is fair to assume that the analysis of facial expression will lead to a better understanding of emotional disturbances and thus of the psychiatric disorder."

Depression, for example, was considered up to now to be a uniform state of mind in qualitative terms, which could only be quantitatively differentiated on a rating scale.

Physiognomic analyses, however, reveal that there are different manifestations of depressions. The anger component may be dominant in one case, the fear component in the other.

The facial expression gives an indication of which form of treatment would be the best.

In future it may even be possible to tell whether therapy has been successful or not by interpreting a person's facial expression.

A number of tests during which the nerve impulses of the facial muscles were conducted through electrodes [illegible] vealed that the tension of the facial muscles eases following therapy.

Patients suffering from schizophrenia were also tested at the Munich Max Planck Institute of Psychiatry to check their facial expressions.

Professor Ellring discovered that facial expression is decoupled from communication in the case of a number of schizophrenics. According to Ellring the patients often talk to themselves and this is reflected in their facial expression. In the minds of these patients this is just as if someone keeps talking to them. Many people with psychological disorders often have faces which seem to be frozen, something which is very irritating for the people around them. In many cases it is not clear whether the outward expressionlessness reflects an inner lack of emotion or whether the persons concerned are simply unable to communicate their emotions.

On the other hand, such a "facial mask" need not denote a psychological problem at all. It may result from a purely organic, neuromuscular defect.

In such cases a physiognomic analysis can help the diagnosis.

The scientists of the Max Planck Institute are currently investigating the difference between the facial expression of patients suffering from depression and persons suffering from Parkinson's disease.

The early stages of Parkinson's disease are marked by an impairment of muscular movement, and patients suffering from Parkinson's disease are often incorrectly diagnosed as depressive. Outward appearances are often deceptive. Parkinson sufferers are merely unable to express their emotions in the usual way, even though they may not be aware of this purely motor-related deficit themselves.

This is not only a burden for relatives and friends, but can also have adverse effects on the sufferers themselves, who feel misunderstood

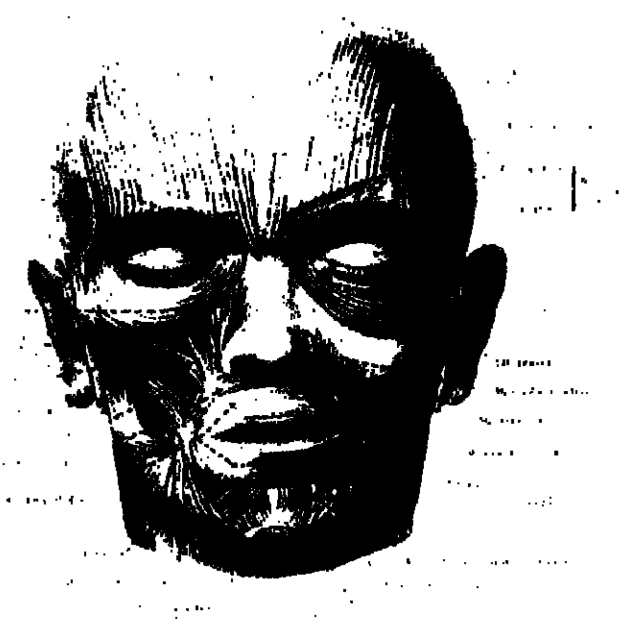
Ellring emphasises that friends and relatives must be informed about this situation so as to avoid a vicious circle of misinterpretations and inappropriate reactions

It may soon be possible to help such patients by means of special training of the facial muscles or special verbal communication training

This would at least reduce some of the social problems these people face.

Gisela Kretzschmar

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 7 October 1988)



Say cheese. Where the muscles are.

(Photo: MPG)

Backache and suppression of aggression

Patients suffering from chronic backache tend to conform to their social environment to an excessive degree.

The physical result can be a nagging tenseness of the back muscles.

There is a tendency to suppress emotions such as anger and aggression in social contacts.

This psychosomatic insght induced doctors at the Göttingen Pain Clinic to give their patients psychotherapeutic as well as physical treatment.

As explained in the journal *Psychotherapie*, [illegible] *Psychologie* (38, 1988 — Georg Thieme Verlag Stuttgart) the doctors focus on irrational attitudes, patterns of social behaviour and exaggerated achievement orientation. The patients receive special training in appropriate behaviour in everyday situations.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 22 September 1988)

Capacity to fight disease linked more closely with stress

Does a person's state of mind influence the immunosystem? For example, in the case of cancer growth and cancer therapy?

Researchers have been trying to answer this question for a long time.

Professor Hans-Joachim Schmoll, of Hanover, chaired a meeting held at the Hanover medical college to talk about the topic.

He said that pyschotherapy may be all that is needed to effect a cure in some cases of physical illness. Yet he warned against exaggerated hopes.

Immunology, the branch of medicine which deals ith the body's defensive mechanisms, is trying to discover the extent to which the immunosystem interacts with other organ groups.

In the tracks of psychosomatic medicine *it hopes to gather information in* field which have so far been neglected by researchers with a strictly natural sciences orientation.

During the conference frequent reference was made to anatomic and physiological cross-links, especially between the central nervous system on the one hand and the thymus gland, the spleen, bone marrow or lymph nodes on the other.

Both respond to stimuli transmitted by the same carrier substances.

Medical science now tends to a growing degree to view the immunosystem as a sensory organic group exposed to a variety of influences. Stress was one of the major negative influences discussed. The scope of its influence is now no longer regarded as restricted to heart and circulatory disorders, but also extends to infections, cancer and immunological disorders.

Each person has different means of overcoming stress.

Professor Hans Waltz (Berlin) emphasised that a case-by-case approach is needed in order to distinguish between short-term and chronic stress.

He pointed out the signficance of a person's self-esteem in this context.

Professor Reinhold-Ernst Schmidt (Hanover) added that there is no absolute clarity about the extent of interaction.

Research findings regarded as "sound" often proved too dependent on the tests and methods used.

The kind of scientific proof demanded by natural sciences has not yet been provided to confirm the influences on the immunosystem.

Professor Uwe Tewes (Hanover) nevertheless felt that the fact that a fundamental discussion was now taking place on the links between the forces of the immunosystem, the nervous system and physical illness was a very good sign.

This may introduce new aspects to medical science, not for the first time in its history.

Reinhard Biehl

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 October 1988)

Continued from page 11

the year before, had taken over power in Croatia.

An artist who had brought international modern painting to his country, was a victim of nationalist hatred.

A visitor to this exhibition in the New Pinakothek is not struck by individual works or the uniform style and quality of the paintings.

Far more he notices their European aspect, a brilliant fusion of foreign styles to a Slav talent by which national frontiers were overcome and national horizons extended.

Walter Fenn

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 October 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Euro flavour to architecture competition

A conference of young architects was organised in Berlin by Berlin's Senator for Housing, Georg Wittwer, to coincide with the first "Europan" competition.

Senator Wittwer said that the opening of "Europan" was the first step to a Single European Market and the beginning of joint thinking about "housing."

"Europan" originates from the French architecture competition Programme d'Architecture Nouvelle (PAN) which has been organised 14 times altogether since 1972.

Nine European countries took part in "Europan;" Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Spain, Switzerland and the Federal Republic.

Each country invited competitors to contribute to the same theme. The architects themselves could chose to which country they submitted their designs.

One Berlin architect said: "At last one can design a house for Sicily without insulation."

The theme selected for the first competition entries for "Europan" was "Development of Housing and Architecture."

Jean Meheu, president of "Europan" and president of the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, said at the opening ceremony that it was hoped "Europan" would revitalise achitecture, produce new ideas from the young and contribute to the debate about European architecture.

The competition should also give some indication as to whether the idea "home and housing" should be re-defined in view of changes in family life, for instance, and the tendency of young people to share accommodation, and whether there was a special identity in European housing forms.

It was not intended to create a new movement and certainly not a uniform European style.

The European tradition of dialogue should lead to a confrontation of experiences and show how homogeneous European culture was, on the one hand, how considerable regional characteristics and differences were, on the other.

Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad warned of replacing the individual characteristics of Europe in favour of a standardised Europe. If people have to subordinate themselves to the whole, such as a united Europe, it would have to be paid for in creative powers.

Konrad spoke of "systematic pauperisation." He said that in Hungary, as well as in Central Europe as a whole, beautiful parts of cities which could be renovated were destroyed to make way for new buildings, villages for built-up areas.

This has been discontinued in Hungary but, as is well known, this is still happening in Romania. Konrad said that "they want to destroy 7,000 villages, 7,000 slices of history, which are of cultural value."

People involved in urban development and water-supply experts have a reason for advocating the ruination of a long stretch of the Danube.

They say that destruction in Central Europe is not wilful; they act from a belief in technical progress.

Konrad invited architects to respect the past as they would respect an elderly person. He made a plea for the pedestrian and the city which bore in mind the pedestrian's interests.

He said that people in Europe preferred to walk, and a European was a person who had some inkling about the place where he lived, because he could go for a walk in the neighbourhood, along a promenade or beside a river.

Jürgen Echternach, parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning and Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, an architect and director of the Society for Civic Restoration in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, both spoke at the opening of the young architects' conference.

Echternach headed the jury that selected Italian Aldo Rossi to be the architect for the Historical Museum which is to be built in Berlin.

Rossi was chosen by the jury because his style was "European" and followed tradition.

Echternach was also vice-president of *the "Europan" competition. He said that* the competition was an opportunity of judging our abilities to see reality. The meeting of young architects was a good opportunity to begin this competition.

He said that the architect was today challenged to take into consideration emotional factors.

He must not only be economical with the builder's money but also with nature: to build with ecological considerations in mind called for new forms of construction. Esternacht lay great store in the variety of architecture that Europe has to offer.

Hardt-Waltherr Hämer regards the discussion about the Historical Museum in Berlin as a symptom of the politicans' desire to avoid solving a problem and conceal it in architecture; in this case the difficulties with German history. It was a matter of projects rather than problems.

He warned of laying down a new way of living based on architectural factors. Architects should not build for people *but with the people who were going* to live in the houses. He referred to the time he had spent in "his" Kreuzberg.

He said that it was regarded by the

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

people of Kreuzberg as breaking trust when funds for renovation were suddenly cut off in 1984.

No-one in government or the administration had ever asked what were the reasons for the protests that took place at the annual general meeting of the Society for Civic Restoration. This break paralysed the social benefits network in Kreuzberg.

Hämer said that Kreuzberg was a laboratory, a chance to learn. He said that there he had discovered how unprepared we were to learn. He added that he had learned this not only in the courtyards of *the living blocks in Kreuzberg.*

The catastrophes we face today, river contamination, the death of the forest, the extermination of seals in the Baltic and North Sea, Tchernobyl, were the side-effects of past industrialisation.

We cannot foresee the side-effects of the radical changes taking place today through new technology, he maintained.

Unemployment has the effect of a bomb waiting to go off. Its consequences are drugs, therapy dependence or self-assertion as a hard-core, left-wing militant.

It is impossible to meet the problems of the future at a European level with the style of formulating these problems used until now.

Wolfgang Lehmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 5 October 1988)

A strange quiet hangs over the street of violence

Hafenstrasse used to be a patrician residential street with an elevated view of the Elbe and Hamburg's harbour. Then the area went into decay. Today much of the area has been redeveloped and Hafenstrasse was included in gentrification plans. But then squatters moved in. Police tried to evict them but the squatters erected barricades. Police helicopters were even fired at. Hafenstrasse was for a time a no-go area. It now has become synonymous with violence. It symbolises either of two points of view: alternative life-stylers versus brutish authorities or thugs versus weak government. Hamburg's Social Democrat administration under former mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi reached a compromise with the occupants. Von Dohnanyi is no longer mayor. An uneasy peace still reigns. There have been spin-off outbursts of violence in other parts of Hamburg by people from the Hafenstrasse scene. Knut Teske went down to Hafenstrasse to see what was happening. He reports for the national daily, *Die Welt*.

For six years, the people and the police of Hamburg have had their attention fixed on the Hafenstrasse, a stretch of run-down houses in the port, overlooking the Elbe.

The occupants, originally protesting at plans to demolish the houses, have caused havoc in the city and were one reason for the resignation of Klaus von Dohnanyi as mayor earlier this year.

There is a sense of something in the air. Is that the reason it is so quiet? Or have the autumn rains brought all activity to a standstill?

Like people who have retired early, the Hafenstrasse people sit on doorsteps or gather in groups with children in the stairwells among empty bottles, butts of joints and cats and dogs. The cats and dogs usually spread out on the roofs of car wrecks nearby, but today the roofs are too hot from the sun.

This is a usual day in Hafenstrasse. The stranger is looked at with suspicion. The atmosphere is hostile and full of contempt.

It is impossible to have contact with the people, dressed in the regulation black of the punk. It is as if we did not speak the same language. There is no discussion here, anyway.

What an unbiased observer would regard as a life between mounds of rubbish in a scrapyard, former Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi described as "an alternative way of living."

Hafenstrasse has for the past six years been a refuge for dropouts of every kind. The peaceful atmosphere is superficial.

Hamburg people keep well clear of Hafenstrasse. The street makes the mouths of the city's real estate agents water.

The run-down houses in the street, four and five storeys high, only 10 minutes from the city centre, are prize properties in a city that is not lacking in high-class residential areas.

The houses in Hafenstrasse face south and have a view of one of Europe's largest and ports.

People are afraid to come here. And those that live here reach compromises. A kiosk owner I spoke to raised his hands and said: "Don't mention my name!" He had come to terms with the situation because he had to live here. He would not say how.

He pushed a packet of cigarettes to each of two black-dressed figures. It was routine. He is not paid. He only gets paid when they have some money, and they seldom have money and never enough.

The kiosk owner added: "But that is unimportant. There are plenty of other customers. I can live." He held up his hand, putting a stop to further questions. Probably from anxiety.

His "good" relations with the people from Hafenstrasse and the surroundings did not help him in an emergency. Three times he has had his windows smashed "in the heat of the battle." That means, in fact, that they did not do it intentionally.

It all brings to mind Max Frisch's radio-play *Herr Biedermann and the Fire Raisers*. Where can a person like the kiosk-owner, who is 58, go otherwise?

Anyone who senses the unspoken fear of the people living in the neighbourhood realises that the principle of being linked to the aggressor took hold a long time ago.

Something of this sort explains why posters or banners announcing solidarity with the house-occupiers dangle from the windows of homes in the vicinity.

The situation has become as dicey as that. The people in the neighbourhood take sides as a kind of life insurance.

This is also true for the way they dismiss with a wave of the hand all that the

DIE WELT

police do and what the politicians have achieved so far.

The new Mayor of Hamburg, Henning Voscherau, has just completed his first 100 days in office. If his secret thoughts were known he, like most citizens in Hamburg, regards Hafenstrasse as a thorn in his side, a thorn that cannot be extracted without an operation.

Getting rid of the thorn in this way is no longer possible. That solution slipped away a long time ago.

In the meantime the inhabitants of the street have built up their position: in reality, because the houses have again been turned into a fortress: strategically, because under von Dohnanyi's patronage they have been able to extend their terrain to the neighbouring districts of Schanzenviertal and Ottensen; and politically, again under von Dohnanyi, *they have been dealt with as if they were* parties to a contract.

Voscherau will have to set about doing a lot of convincing, particularly with the left-wing of his party, the SPD, if he wants to push through his plans to solve the Hafenstrasse problem.

He must find a legal way to make the rental agreements invalid so that the inhabitants can be regarded as having committed criminal offences and the police can then mount effective criminal prosecutions.

This is all well known in Hafenstrasse itself. Considerable crowds of supporters can be mobilised with speed through an ingenious information network, which includes EDP refinements.

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■ FRONTIERS

Coffee grinders down the ages



Thiessen and his coffee grinders.

(Photo: Marianne Schmalz)

The collection of coffee grinders belonging to machine engineer Jürgen Thiessen owes something to the former business manager of the Free Democrat Party, Günther Verheugen.

One night, several friends including Thiessen met in the cellar bar at the home of one of them and, in the convivial atmosphere, the topic of was coffee grinders emerged. Someone said that Verheugen had 350 of them.

That was the signal for Thiessen to go into action. First he acquired grinders belonging to his parents. Now he has about 150, both traditional and unusual.

There is, for example, a lady's travelling grinder, a model which ensured that milady was able to prepare a cup of familiar quality instead of having to assault the tastebuds by partaking of that 'orrible foreign stuff.

There is an old army version with a screw-down lid so the contents wouldn't jump out while marching into action.

Then there is a French grinder which found its way from Paris to Poland and then to an antique dealer in Stade, a town near Hamburg, where Thiessen came across it.

He discovered an oriental version in an Istanbul marketplace while on holiday in Turkey. It cost him 40 marks.

Most of his grinders are from grandma's kitchen, but the history of grinders goes back to the 17th century when the problem of breaking open the beans to release their flavour first arose.

Soon, grinders began appearing like mushrooms. Coffee drinking at first belonged to the salons of society, but it quickly spread in popularity. Soon, the coffee grinder was part of every kitchen. The spirit of ingenuity rose to the occasion and new varieties of grinder soon appeared. Around the turn of the century, some were even built with fan blades which drove in air to keep the grinder call and prevent heat in the grinding process from destroying the aroma. Then there were grinders shaped so they could be comfortably placed on the thighs. Others were constructed with attachments which enabled them to be fitted to heating coils and roasting plates so the beans could be first roasted and then freshly ground.

The coffee grinders rotated on and on, faster and faster. Then came the Second World War. Coffee became scarce. Reich Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels, who liked his cup of coffee, groaned in the columns of the *Völkischer Beobachter* on 11 March 1939: "If you think about it, it is disgraceful that one should even have to consider the question, because there is no doubt at all that coffee is not an essential item of food. It is a pleasant adornment to a comfortable life."

But National Socialists despised the comfortable life, so if there was a shortage of coffee, that was good for the health of the nation. That was the beginning of the end for the grinder. After the war, the grinder went through a revival of sorts. But by 1950, ready-ground coffee was already filling every fifth coffee cup. The trend was to continue.

When, in 1957, the first electric grinder came on to the market, the writing was on the wall for the hand grinder.

But Jürgen Thiessen has preserved a piece of cultural history in his home — a collection assembled from here and there, from antique shops and flea markets, from friends and relatives.

And, of course, if there is a power failure, he will always be able to put his museum pieces to work again.

Helmut von der Lippe

(Lubecker Nachrichten, 4 October 1988)

The club begins to fade as an institution

Mannheimer MORGEN

Do three Germans make a club? That used to be the truism. But, according to Professor Horst W. Opaschowski, it just hasn't been true for a long time.

He has found that 42 per cent of Germans are neither in a club nor a political party nor a professional organisation.

Professor Opaschowski, head of the BAT leisure-research institute in Hamburg, says that in the big cities, 48 per cent don't belong to any organisation.

More flexibility and less pressure to join are the reasons. The trend is towards sporadic associations in which demands on time are limited. The trend is towards interest groups, sports clubs, fan clubs, pub cliques, hobby groups and social and political groups which do not make demands over protracted periods. The modern person wants to remain independent

A survey by Professor Opaschowski shows that the most popular club are sports clubs (25 per cent). Next are skittles clubs (12 per cent), trade unions (eight per cent) and car clubs (seven per cent).

Seven per cent of respondents also belonged to either church or charitable organisations. Most of these people were over 55.

Behind them with six per cent come two categories which used to be much more popular: shooting and singing clubs.

The survey discovered a gap between the membership as a whole and the active members: sports clubs have 20 million members, but only 12 million take an active part.

Professor Opaschowski thinks that the attractiveness of clubs will continue to fall. Already, more than half of all unattached people (55 per cent) do not belong to a club.

And the number of one-person households is on the increase. At the same time, the declining birth-rate is making itself felt. Bad days for clubs.

Hans Steuerwald

(Mannheimer Morgen, 28 September 1988)

A look at the dining rooms of the past

A fifth of mankind — more than a billion people — use a knife, fork and spoon. Precisely the manner they are used in varies enormously. It is rude to stare when someone shovels it in. It is much better to study eating habits by looking at the cutlery itself.

So how much does cutlery tell about a culture? And does its very possession indicate an aquisition of culture?

These and similar questions came to interest a student, Wolfgang Otto Bauer, as he began collecting items of cutlery. His collection has developed to the point where it is now being exhibited in the town of Böblingen, near Stuttgart.

To march along the row of showcases is to march through generations of kitchens. The contents give away eating habits, good and bad times, and reveal art forms from various periods and styles — Biedermeier, art nouveau.

There is a set of oversize cutlery which once hung outside a shop; and there are miniatures made for dolls or as souvenirs.

There is a set of *Patenbesteck* (monogrammed cutlery given to a child by a godmother or godfather) made in Vienna in 1831 for a girl from a well-heeled family;there is a carving set showing signs of various historical styles; and children's cutlery in various styles.

All have been collected and sorted and labelled with scientific precision. The display is accompanied by books, pictures and caricatures and by various pieces of table utensils.

Clearly shown is the rise of the middle class in the 18th century. That was when table habits and utensils assumed forms that have remained to this day.

Food became more stylish and stylish cutlery was developed to meet the vogue.

The tastes of the various eras are best seen not so much in the cutlery but in larger pieces such as tureens and ladles.

Perhaps the most beautiful examples are carving sets in art nouveau and *historismus* (a mixture of historical styles): once such cutlery sets were for the special occasion, whereas they are now part of daily routine for all occasions.

Yesterday, the knives, forks and spoons were heavy; today they are a more practical size.

Admittedly, the items on show are exclusively small pieces designed for eating. But, if you look at them precisely, you can see that they are witnesses and signs of our culture.

The spoon, for example: You could mockingly say that it is man's constant companion. With it, he learnt eating. He'll probably die with it.

Gert Bürgel

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 1 October 1988)

Silver spoons in mouths . . . until death.

(Photo: Kraufmann und Kraufmann)

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Hamburg's security officials believe that the inhabitants of Hafenstrasse have about 400 supporters prepared to use violence. Their entire support probably amounts to several thousand people, with more from outside the city.

The Hermines is a pub in the middle of Hafenstrasse. It used to be a place where people in evening dress rubbed shoulders with people in boilersuits. This day, a punk idled and chatted with two of the squatters.

It was a little like Harlem in New York. There, when a white passes by, conversation stops. The same happens here when a stranger enters the pub.

An order for a beer was ignored: "Pigs and the fuzz get nothing here."

Knut Teske

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 September 1988)